THE CASE

As it now ſtands, between the

CLOTHIERS, WEAVERS,

AND OTHER

MANUFACTURERS,

With Regard to the

Late RIOT, in the County of WILTS.

CONTAINING

REMARKS on a *Libel*, entitled *an Eſſay on Riots*, printed in the *Glouceſter* Journal, *December* 19, 1738; ſome Obſervations on the Prices of Labour, in the WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE and HUSBANDRY; Conſiderations and Reflections on the Act for Maintaining the POOR, ſhewing the *Diſadvantages* and *Injuries*, which ariſe to *Society* from it; Proofs of the Neceſſity of reducing the Price of Labour in our MANUFACTURES, in order to keep and extend our *Foreign Trade*.

THE WHOLE

Interſperſed with Remarks on the Advantages ariſing from TRADE, to the Landed GENTLEMEN; the Burden which would fall on *all* by the Loſs of *it*.

ALSO

Some OBSERVATIONS on the Conduct of Gentlemen and Magiſtrates towards *Trade* and *Manufacturers*.

IN A

LETTER to a MEMBER of PARLIAMENT.

By PHILALETHES.

LONDON:

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MDCCXXXIX.

The CASE *as it ſtands between the* CLOTHIERS, WEAVERS, *and other* MANUFACTURERS, *with regard to the late* RIOT, *&c.*

SIR,

I Remember when I had the Honour of being in your Company laſt, you inſinuated, that you could not be eaſily brought to believe, that the *Clothiers* behaved with common Humanity towards the *Manufacturers* they employed. You rather looked on them as a Body of *Oppreſſors*, who ruſh'd thro' every Bond of Pity, Compaſſion, Tenderneſs, Honeſty and Juſtice, in order to arrive at that Pitch of *Greatneſs* their vain *Ambition* had ſet up; or to amaſs ſuch a Heap of *ungodly Mammon*, as their wicked *Avarice* had ſuggeſted.

AS I alſo remember you hinted, that you were induced to believe this was the true State of the Affair, from the Repreſentations in the *Glouceſter Journal*; from the common Apprehenſions of thoſe out of the Manufacture; and from the Riot itſelf, which ſeemed to ſhew the Manufacturers were op-

preſſed, otherwiſe they would not have acted in ſo furious and violent a Manner: For *Solomon* himſelf declares, *that Oppreſſion would make a wiſe Man mad*, and therefore no wonder it ſhould precipitate the *head-long Mob* into ſuch Fury and Outrages. You ſignified alſo, that you apprehended the Populace, or People in general, were diſpoſed to live in Peace, provided they were not treated inhumanly by their *Governors*; nor ſqueezed and oppreſſed by their *Superiors*. The Hiſtories of almoſt all Nations, as well as the celebrated Mr. *Gordon*'s Diſcourſes on Government, prefixed to his Tranſlation of *Tacitus*, very plainly ſhew'd, that the galling Yoke of Oppreſſion was the principal Cauſe of Riots, Tumults, Inſurrections, and Revolutions in States and Communities.

I WAS heartily ſorry to find ſo judicious a *Senator* entertain ſuch Notions of *Clothiers*; as well as to find you pronounce Sentence ſo raſhly, who never uſed to come to any Concluſion, without the cloſeſt Examination, and matureſt Deliberation. I muſt return you my Thanks for the kind Sentiments you entertain of myſelf, and the Exception from the reſt of the *Clothiers* you were pleaſed to compliment me with. But tho' I have no Occaſion to vindicate my own Conduct, or ſay any thing on the Affair upon my own account, yet I cannot but think it the Duty of every honeſt Man, as far as in him lies, to endeavour to remove the Prejudices of Mankind, purge them of their Errors, and diffuſe Truth.

WHEN we hear Mutiny, Riot, Sedition and Calumny open their Mouths wide againſt the *Innocent*, it is the Part of an honeſt Man to ſtand up in their Defence, and oppoſe the Torrent of Injuſtice and Defamation. When we ſee the *Preſs* ſpew out

Incentives

Incentives to Tumult and Confuſion, to irritate and fret the Minds of the People to Faction and Riot; when we ſee *Ignorance* and *Vanity*, or *Malice* and *Knavery*, ſtand up as Champions for a licentious Rabble, (patronized by a Magiſtrate who ought to ſuppreſs them) and endeavour by falſe Gloſſes to impoſe on the *Weak* and *Unthinking*, and deceive the *Judicious* by bold Aſſertions, groundleſs Clamours, and unjuſt Aſperſions; I hope you will think, that Man deſerves ſome ſhare of Applauſe, who but attempts to undeceive Mankind, and furniſh them with an Antidote againſt ſuch deſtructive Poiſons, peſtilential Doctrines, and pernicious Harangues.

I KNOW you, Sir, have for many Years courted *Truth* in every Shape, have hunted for her thro' all Mazes and *Meanders*, and therefore will not be offended, if I ſhould take upon me to be your Guide, and endeavour to bring you to the beautiful *Goddeſs*, thro' all the Clouds of Dullneſs and Impertinence, which the Author of the Eſſay on Riots has thrown round her. Such Writers are a Sort of *Poachers*, who mud the Stream to catch the unwary blinded Mutes, that inhabit it.

BUT whilſt the *Clothiers* are in the Hands of this *Grand Inquiſitor*, who proudly ſits on his Tribunal examining, and cenſuring their Conduct, and calling in the Aid of the Secular Arm to puniſh them; whilſt he is exerciſing all his Malice, and ſpitting his *Venom* on them, they may draw ſome *Conſolation* even from his very Poiſon;

As we from Aſps a lenient Drug compoſe,
And tame the Poiſon to a healing Doſe.

This they may do by conſidering that they ſtand in the ſame *Invective* with the *Court*, the *Parliament*,

the *Juſtices*, and the whole *Magiſtracy* of the Nation, who have all felt the Fury of the ſame Aſſes Heels, and had their Ears invaded with the diſſonant Elocution peculiar to thoſe *long-ear'd* Animals.

I KNOW I have no Occaſion to make any Apology for my Attempt to a Gentleman of your Character, therefore I ſhall come immediately to the Execution of my Deſign, and conſider the Allegations which have been advanced againſt the Clothiers, and deliver the true State of the Caſe, as it ſtands between the Manufacturers and them.

IT has been boldly aſſerted, without producing one Inſtance, that the *Clothiers* oppreſs the Poor, by detaining their Wages, and making exorbitant Demands on them, under illegal and unjuſt Pretences of Damages, *&c.* by taking Advantage of bad Times of Trade, pinching and giving them ſuch low Wages, that they are ſtarving by Thouſands; by Combinations to lower their Wages, and by trucking or impoſing Goods on them at a high Price, in lieu of Money; each of which Reproaches I ſhall conſider in the Courſe of this Letter, as well as make ſome *Remarks* on the *Eſſay on Riots*, as they ſhall fall in *a propos*, with the particular Subject I am treating of. To begin with the firſt Charge, *viz.* Oppreſſion.

THE Clothiers have all in a Body been charged with Oppreſſion. If there have been ſome among them, who have been guilty of oppreſſive Actions, they ought to be pointed out, they alone ought to bear the Reproach of their own ill Conduct. To ſtigmatize a large Body of near 150 Traders, in the three manufacturing Towns of *Bradford*, *Trowbridge*, and *Melkſham*, and the Parts adjacent to each,

each, with the Faults of a Few, would be the higheſt Injuſtice and Cruelty. Perhaps there never was a Body of Men of any Sort in the World, who all deſerved the Epithets of *Juſt* and *Honourable*. If this be the Caſe, there is no wonder in finding *Some* among ſuch a large Body, who may not behave to the *Poor* with that Humanity and Tenderneſs they ought, who may not have ſo ſtrict a Regard to Juſtice and Honeſty, as might be wiſhed: Thoſe Men ought to be marked out, and bear their own Iniquity: But the *Eſſayer*, like a wild *Indian*, runs *a-muck* at every one without diſtinction.

THE Cauſe of the *Poor* is popular, and apt to biaſs many thinking and judicious Perſons, who have not much to do with them. The World would have a quite different Opinion of the manufacturing Populace from what perhaps they have, if they were acquainted with their *Inſolence*, *Idleneſs*, *Debauchery*, *Frauds* and *Diſhoneſty*, ſo well as the *Clothiers* who employ them.

THE *Clothiers* challenge the *Manufacturers* and others to produce Inſtances of the Oppreſſions they clamour about. If they do not bring Matters of Fact, and Names of Perſons, they and their Adherents ought to be looked upon by every honeſt Man as a Body of *Villains*, who have forged Lyes, and trumped up Falſhoods, in order to render the *Clothiers* odious, palliate their own *Guilt*, and have a Plea for their own *Wickedneſs*.

IT is true, formerly ſome of the *Clothiers* behaved with intolerable Inſolence towards their Servants. As I have been informed, it was a common thing in Time paſt for a Clothier, who is now in the C—m—ſſ—n of the P—c—e, *viz. Tarquinius Superbus*,

Superbus, to kick, cuff, beat, and abuſe his Servants of every Rank and Degree, and treat them with the moſt inſufferable Pride and Haughtineſs; as well as ſtop their Wages, and defraud them in the moſt baſe and flagrant Manner: but this Man was *Rara Avis in terris*, though perhaps his very Conduct gave birth to the *Opprobrium* which is very often and very unjuſtly caſt on the Body of Clothiers now. This Gentleman, like a true *Patron* of the Poor, has taken care to prevent ſuch Abuſes ſince; and I preſume, by way of Recompence for his own baſe Conduct, has indulged 'em in every Fraud and Inſolence towards the *Clothiers* of late Years. But ſuch Conduct as this *Gentleman* was guilty of towards the *Manufacturers*, has not been known of for many Years paſt.

BUT to conſider this Matter of Oppreſſion a little farther, which ought to be looked upon as a general Charge on the whole Body of Clothiers:

IN the 13th Year of King *George* I. an Act of Parliament was paſt, impowering the Juſtices to determine all Diſputes between *Clothier* and *Manufacturer* according to their Diſcretion; and to adjudge the Party aggrieved ſuch Damages as they ſhould think reaſonable. The Act we ſpeak of might be ſhewn perhaps to be very deficient, and want many Amendments. *This is no wonder, when we conſider who have boaſted that they ſuggeſted it, and took on them to direct the Legiſlature, and dictate in that Affair. But this by the bye.*

THIS Act puts it out of the power of any *Clothier* to oppreſs or defraud any *Manufacturer* in any ſhape whatſoever.

IF

IF a *Clothier* ſtops or detains the Wages of a *Manufacturer*, under Pretence of bad Workmanſhip, Waſte or Embezzlement of his Materials, Stains, Rents or Damages of any kind, the *Manufacturer* may have Recourſe to a *Magiſtrate*, to ſummon him before the *Seſſions*, who never fails to do the Manufacturer perhaps more than Juſtice. The Manufacturers are defied to produce an Inſtance, where they had not Juſtice done them. The Clothiers about *Trowbridge* have ſcarce ever a *Summons* from the Juſtices on ſuch Occaſions; being ſenſible of the Partiality of a *certain Perſon*, and unwilling to ſuffer the *Chagrin*, and Mortification of ſeeing their Servants triumph in their Frauds and Abuſes. Therefore they generally leave the Reparation they think in juſtice due to them, to the Servant's own Conſcience, or they pay him his full Wages, and diſcharge him; *which laſt is always done by moſt Clothiers in the common Courſe of their Trade.* The *Clothiers* then will leave the World to judge how juſt the Charge againſt them of Oppreſſion is. Truly thoſe Perſons muſt have but little Knowledge of the Power of the Juſtices, or the Privileges of the Manufacturers, who can ſuppoſe they can be oppreſſed or defrauded in this Reſpect.

THE Manufacturers themſelves are ſo ſenſible of the Partiality of a *certain Man*, that after the Determination of a certain Affair ſome Years ago, in which the Maſter was groſly abuſed, the *Manufacturer* came up to his Maſter's Teeth in an audacious and inſulting Manner, and ſaid to him, "*Damn "you, you ſee you can do nothing with us, if we have "a mind to ſtand Trial with you. I could have told "you before the Trial came on, that I was ſure to "have my Money, and not to allow you any Damage.*"

" *mage.*" The Clothier aſked him, " *How he* " *could tell that?*" The Manufacturer replied, " *That a Friend in Court was Money in Purſe*; " *and that he had got ſo much Money through it by* " *G—d* *." But the *Clothiers* think this Matter deſerves a little farther Conſideration.

IF a *Manufacturer* waſtes, embezzles, works bad, or injures the Manufactures committed to his Care, inſtead of working them up faithfully, is it not reaſonable that the *Clothier* ſhould have Reparation for the Damages he has ſuſtained? It is neceſſary that the Manufacturer or Servant ſhould be under the Obligation of Law to work faithfully, and to deliver the Manufactures perfectly wrought, otherwiſe the *Clothier* would lie expoſed to all manner of Injuries and Abuſes; and the Reputation of the Manufacture would ſoon be ruined, as well as the Clothier himſelf. If a *Sailor* do not bring his *Ship* home ſafe, he receives no Wages, tho' it was out of his power to ward off the Violence of the Winds and the Waves, and preſerve her.

SUPPOSE a *Gentleman* employs a *Taylor* to make him a Suit of Clothes, and the Taylor ſhould rob him of his Cloth and Lace, and inſtead of making a Suit fit for himſelf, make it only fit for a *Dwarf*; would not the Gentleman think the Taylor not only unworthy of his Wages, but alſo that in Juſtice he ought to take the Suit of Clothes on himſelf, and provide him with other of equal Goodneſs, fit for his Uſe? What Difference is there between the *Taylor's* Robbery and the *Manufacturer's* Embezzlement; the *Taylor's* ſpoiling the Clothes

* This Manufacturer is now in Priſon, having been a Ringleader in the late Riot.

and

and Lace, and the *Manufacturer's* tearing, ſtaining, or otherwiſe damaging the Goods committed to his Care? What Difference is there between baſe Workmanſhip in the *Taylor*, and bad Workmanſhip in the *Manufacturer?*

I HAVE been a little prolix in the Uſe of the above familiar Compariſon, in order to illuſtrate the Matter, and bring it down to the meaneſt Capacity, as well as in ſome meaſure to apply it to every Man's ownſelf.

BUT always between the *Clothier* and the *Manufacturer* there is a *Contract* either expreſſed or implied; which is, "You ſhall perform ſuch and ſuch "Parts of the Manufacture well, and receive ſuch "and ſuch Prices for it." If the Contract is not perform'd, how can the Reward be expected? But if the Servant retracts from a Part of the propoſed Price, becauſe he knows the injured *Maſter* ought to have Redreſs, how can this be called Injuſtice and Oppreſſion in the Maſter? If the Maſter aims to oppreſs the Servant, he may immediately have Recourſe to the Magiſtrates, who from a Principle of Envy are generally forward enough to ſcourge the Clothier, and exceeding partial to the Labourer. How ſtupid and ſilly is it then to complain of the Clothier's oppreſſing the poor Manufacturer?

IT is very plain from what has been ſaid, that there can be no ſuch thing as Oppreſſion by Stoppage of Wages, *&c.* or any thing of that kind.

THE chief Thing which remains to be examined, in which the *Clothiers* are liable to be charged with Oppreſſion, is in the Article of Price.

THIS ought to be conſidered in a two-fold Manner: Firſt, What Wages are given by the Clothiers in good Times and bad: And in the ſecond Place, *How far the Clothier may proceed in falling the Price of Labour in bad Times, without incurring the* Odium *of pinching and oppreſſing the Poor.*

THAT the Wages given by the *Clothiers* are greater than thoſe given in *Husbandry*, will appear paſt all doubt to every Perſon who will pleaſe to examine into, and reflect upon, the Matter. The *Luxury* and *Populouſneſs* of the *Clothing Towns* and *Hamlets* abundantly ſhew *This*. If a thinking Man would but aſk himſelf, why the *Clothing Towns* increaſe in People and Buildings; how the Rents came to be raiſed both of Houſes and Lands which lie contiguous to thoſe Towns; how their Lands came to be improved, and the Soil to be enriched and meliorated; what muſt the Anſwer be? but theſe ariſe from the *Trade* and *Manufactures* carried on in thoſe Places.

BUT Trade and Manufactures will not draw a Concourſe of People to any Place, unleſs there are better Wages to be made, and more conſtant Employ to be found. It is abſurd to think that a Father would put his Son an Apprentice into a Town, or to a Manufacture where there were not Hopes of his obtaining better Wages, and more conſtant Employ, than in his own *Village* or *Occupation*.

IF the Poor flock to thoſe Towns, what is it for? but becauſe they know they can ſerve themſelves by it.

THIS is the Reaſon why ſo many Perſons puſh into thoſe Towns in an illegal Manner, whom we cannot

cannot keep out by any Methods, Laws, or Stratagems whatſoever. This is a Truth well known to every Pariſh-Officer in thoſe Towns where the Clothing Trade is carried on. A judicious Author ſays *:

" LET them ſee how the People gather about " the Manufacture, how they crowd into the " Clothing Countries, however barren and remote: " And on the contrary, how thin of Inhabitants, " compared to thoſe populous Parts, tho' other- " wiſe populous too, are the other Parts of the " Country; ſome of which are much more fruitful " and fertile, the Soil richer, the Situation more " agreeable, and the Air milder and wholeſomer " than thoſe that are ſo populous? But where the " Trade is, there are the People, there the Wealth, " there the great Markets and large Towns; and " in a word, there the Ready Money: For it is " Trade that has made the common People rich, " as it is Pride has made the Gentry poor."

THIS Concourſe of People raiſes the Rents of Houſes, and the Value of Lands; and this laſt upon a double account, both as by thoſe Means the Products of thoſe Lands ſell at a greater Price †, and are more eaſily diſpoſed of; and as the Number of Inhabitants produce Compoſts and Manures to enrich and improve them.

ABOUT 60 or 70 Years ago a certain well-built Houſe in the Town of *Trowbridge* was offer'd to be lett to any Tenant who would pay the *Chimney-Tax* of it; which Houſe within theſe few Years

* Vide the Plan of the *Engliſh* Commerce, pag. 80.

† The Riſe of Proviſions here bears no Proportion to the Wages given.

has been lett at 20*l. per Annum:* And I believe the Lands in the Pariſh of *Trowbridge* are worth near twice as much as they were 60 or 70 Years ago. This is not owing to *draining*, *burn-baking*, or any Improvements of thoſe Kinds, but to the Number of Inhabitants, whereby, as I ſaid before, their Products yield more, and from whom large Quantities of *Soil* and rich *Manures* have been drawn at a cheap Price for their Improvement.

IN the *Diſtricts* and *Towns* where the Woollen Manufacture is carried on, proper Employment is to be found for every Sort and Size of People: The *Blind*, the *Lame*, the *Impotent*, the *Aged*, the *Children*, find ſome Sort of Work or another adapted to them. Blind Perſons card, ſpool, or wind Quills; the Lame do the ſame, or ſpin and ſcribble. Now what an Advantage is it to the Poor to be born under the Influence of a *Clothier*, who, like the Sun, ſcatters Life and the Supports of it to every one round him? What a Happineſs is it to the Poor to be planted in ſuch a Situation, that they are capable of earning a comfortable Subſiſtance, even in Circumſtances *unfortunate*, and to the *Poor* in other Places *deſtructive?*

AGAIN: In the Woollen Manufacture in theſe Parts, the Wages are much greater, and the Employment more conſtant, than in moſt other Occupations. Let us in the firſt place conſider the Wages made by the *Weavers*, *that reſtleſs turbulent Body of Men*, *whoſe wicked Conduct* gave Occaſion for this *Undertaking*.

THE Weavers in general are the moſt feeble, weak and impotent of all the Manufacturers. A Male Child perhaps is found on a *Dunghill*, nurſed up by the Pariſh, thro' Negligence and want of proper

proper Care is weak and ſickly, and at the Age of 8 or 10 Years is put an Apprentice to a Weaver: A Parent has a Child infirm, deform'd, ſickly, weak and diſtorted; he conſiders his Conſtitution, and how eaſy the Employment of a Weaver is, and puts him an Apprentice to that Trade, in which he knows his Child can acquire a comfortable Subſiſtance, without the *Requiſites* in other Occupations of a healthy Body, and a ſtrong Conſtitution. The Father is ſenſible in this Craft his Son is not expoſed to hard Labour, to the Inclemencies of the Weather, to travel from Place to Place for Employment, *&c.* He knows if his Child is dull, Sagacity is not required; if weak, that Strength is not demanded; if ſickly, Hardſhips are not incident; if ſlow and unactive, Agility is not neceſſary in the Occupation of a Weaver: And that by putting him to that Trade, he puts him into a Capacity of obtaining a comfortable Subſiſtance, with ſcarce any human Abilities.

IT is a Trade ſo eaſy in itſelf, that formerly it was deemed the proper Employment of a Woman, as we learn from *Homer*, from the Story of *Penelope*, and where *Hector* parts from *Andromache* *; as alſo from *Ovid*, in the Story of the famous Conteſt of *Arachne* and *Minerva*.

BUT perhaps ſome Perſons may ſay this is meer Aſſertion, Declamation and Harangue, without the Face or leaſt Appearance of Proof. To ſilence all Diſpute, and prove to the World, that the Weavers are not hardly dealt with by the *Clothiers*, but

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* As thine *Andromache!* thy Griefs I dread,
I ſee thee trembling, weeping, Captive led,
In *Argive* Looms our Battles to deſign,
And Woes of which ſo large a Part was thine. POPE.

have

have great Prices for their Labour, I will conſider the Manner of their Trade, and the Wages which they generally acquire.

FROM what has been ſaid above of the Abilities and Qualifications neceſſary for a Weaver, a Man with a very ſmall ſhare of Underſtanding will at firſt ſight conclude, that it would be almoſt Impudence for ſuch Perſons in ſuch Circumſtances, and ſuch a Trade, to expect to make *great Wages*; ſuch as a Man might reaſonably ask in a Buſineſs or Employment that requires Strength, Genius, Ingenuity, Sagacity; that expoſes Life, and lies open to the Severities of the Weather; that wears, tears, and deſtroys a Man's Apparel, and waſtes his Spirits.

AS I hinted before, the Trade expoſes to no Hardſhips, and requires ſcarce any human Abilities *. Moſt of the Weavers live in Cottages, erected on waſte Lands in the *Villages* and *Hamlets* near the Clothing Towns, or near the Habitations of ſome principal *Clothiers*. When a *Lad* has ſerved out his Apprenticeſhip, in a little time he may either acquire a Loom by his Induſtry, or, if he is a Perſon of any Reputation, hire or be truſted with one. When he has proceeded thus far, he ſoon meets with a Boy; ſometimes from the Pariſh

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* *Homer* ſets even *Helen* a weaving in the following beautiful Lines:

Mean time, to beauteous *Helen*, from the Skies
The various Goddeſs of the Rainbow flies:
(Like fair *Laodicè* in Form and Face,
The loveliest Nymph of *Priam*'s Royal Race)
Her in the Palace, at her Loom ſhe found,
The Golden Web her own ſad Story crown'd:
The *Trojan* Wars ſhe weav'd, (herſelf the Prize)
And the dire Triumphs of her fatal Eyes. POPE.

with

with a Sum of Money; ſometimes from his Friends, who comes as an Apprentice to him. This *Boy* in a very little Time acquires Skill and Abilities enough to perform a Part of Work in the Loom with his Maſter. When he is advanc'd to 12 or 13 Years of Age, this Boy and his Maſter (if the Maſter is as diligent as he ought to be) ſhall perhaps fill a Medly Cloth in three Weeks, for which the Maſter ſhall receive of the Clothier 1 *l.* 19 *s.* 3 *d.* or 2 *l.* 1 *s.* clear.

IT may be obſerv'd here, that I have reckon'd three Weeks for filling a Medly Cloth of 36 Yards, at 15 *d. per* Yard, as a *Medium* of Time neceſſary for compleating ſuch a Piece of Workmanſhip. Work is not always alike, and therefore I have pitch'd on that Time as a *Mean* upon an *Average*. Tho' it is very common for a Loom in the medly Cloth way to fill a Cloth in 16 Days, and in the white Cloth way in leſs than three Weeks.

WHILST the *Weaver* and his Apprentice-Boy are employ'd in the Loom, if the *Weaver* has a Family, a Child of four Years of Age ſhall perhaps quill to the Loom, and earn 6 *d. per* Week; another of ſix Years of Age ſhall acquire perhaps 1 *s.* 6 *d. per* Week by ſpinning; whilſt the *Wife* makes her Wages 2 *s.* 6 *d.* or 3 *s.* a Week by the Spinning-wheel alſo; and at the ſame time performs all neceſſary Offices in the Family. Many Inſtances might be given of Weavers, who in this manner have acquired Fortunes from 100 *l.* to 500 *l.* I would be underſtood to ſpeak here of the *induſtrious Poor*, not of the *idle* and *debauch'd*; not of the drunken *Punk*, the *tatling Goſſip*, or of the idle vociferous *Fuddle-Cap*; ſuch will be always poor, in ſpite of Providence. Whether theſe are ſtarving Wages, or the Weavers may be ſuppoſed from this

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to be in diſtreſſed Circumſtances, we muſt leave the candid Reader to judge. If upon conſidering all theſe Things, the Weavers ſhould be pronounced in a ſtarving Condition, and the Clothiers Oppreſſors, I am afraid ſuch Judges will be found to have but little Senſe, and leſs Honeſty; yea, leſs than the Clothiers themſelves!

I WILL now ſpeak a few Words with regard to our *Shearmen* and *Scriblers*, who work in the Clothiers own Houſes: Theſe Men, if they apply cloſely to Labour, may earn from 8 to 10 or 12 *s. per* Week. They have alſo the Advantage of conſtant Employment, warm Rooms, and are never expoſed to any Hardſhips, or Severities of Weather, or any thing that wears or deſtroys their Apparel. Upon an *Average* take all the Year round, they do not work above four Days in a Week; and find Proviſions and Neceſſaries of Life (*tho' the Government is reproached with their being loaded with Taxes*) ſo cheap, that thoſe four Days Labour furniſh out the *Requiſites* for being drunk the other three. And yet theſe Men think that they are injur'd becauſe they have no better Wages, and mutiny'd with the *Weavers*, becauſe they could make no better Price of their Labour.

IT may be obſerv'd, that their Wives and Families at home often earn 6 or 7 *s. per* Week more, which added to their Huſbands *Acquiſitions* abroad, makes not only a comfortable, but an almoſt extravagant Sum, when compared with the Wages of the Huſbandman and his Family, in many Parts of this Kingdom.

THE following is no mean Proof of the high Wages as well as the *Luxury* of the *Manufacturers*. In the Town of *Trowbridge*, where the Inhabitants have

have been computed about 3000 Men, Women and Children, there are near 2000 *Hogſheads of ſtrong Beer* drunk in a Year, as appears from the *Exciſe Books*: Yet we have no Market but for Meat, Roots and Greens; and have no great *Thorough-Fare* from or to any Place. To this we may add, that they ſay there are near 30 or 40 *Gin-houſes*, where the Poor *rendezvous* and debauch themſelves with that *infernal Liquor*, in ſpite of the Vigilance of the *Exciſe Officers*; and they are ſo ſincere and faithful in Support of the Means of their *Debauchery* and *Ruin*, that the Officers can procure no Informations againſt any Perſon for ſelling thoſe Liquors, tho' it is conſtantly done*.

AS it appears from theſe Calculations, beyond all Contradiction, that the Poor have ſuch high Wages, as furniſh them with the Means and Inſtruments of *Luxury* and *Idleneſs*, how abſurd and ridiculous is it then for the Author of the *Eſſay on Riots* to attribute the Miſeries of the Poor to the Taxes on the Neceſſaries of Life? But if he can find out any Pretence, however ſilly, to libel his Prince, irritate the Minds of the People, ſow Sedition and Diſloyalty, foment the Spirit of Riot, and defame the Clothiers, out go his Froth and Venom in a Flood.

WHEN I look over the Eſſay on Riots, I cannot help conſidering the Author as a Sort of a *Proteus*; ſometimes he appears in one Shape, ſometimes in another, and always inconſiſtent. One while the Miſeries of the Poor are owing to *Taxes*, another while to the *Luxury* of the Poor, another while to the *Oppreſſion* of the *Clothiers*. Theſe

* Nunc patimur longæ Pacis mala: Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit—— Juv.

Things are incompatible! Let us examine a little the Contradictions of this ſhifting Animal, who, like the *Skuttle-Fiſh*, endeavours to hide himſelf, and blind others with *Mud* and *Pollution* of his own raiſing.

IF the Poor can acquire enough in a Part of their Time to be luxurious, and debauch the reſt, certainly their Wages cannot be low, nor can they feel any Burden from Taxes; for whilſt they are ſpending, they generally loſe the earning of as much as they ſpend, and ſo have a *double Loſs*; and notwithſtanding find Wages high enough, and Plenty enough to ſupport their Debauches.

* EVERY one who hates the preſent Eſtabliſhment, cries out againſt Taxes: The Reaſon is plain, *becauſe they have no Share of them*; let them come in for a *Snack*, and their Mouths will ſoon feel the Influence of the *Golden Padlock*.

TAXES have been a String harp'd upon by every Enemy to the preſent Adminiſtration, from the ſpecious Pretence of having *a great Regard for the Poor*, and a *tender Concern for the Miſeries they groan under*; whereas I believe 999 Poor out of 1000 never think of any ſuch Thing. I have Opportunities of hearing many of their low humourous Dialogues, without their knowing it: And tho' I have converſed with and heard thouſands of them utter their Sentiments freely drunk and ſober, yet I never heard a Complaint of that kind from them in

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* If the Poor were taxed here, as they are in *Holland*, they would have a more ſpecious Pretence for inveighing againſt Taxes, where, as Sir *William Temple* tells us (as I remember) a ſingle Diſh of Fiſh has paid 30 *Exciſes* before it came to Table.

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my Life. Their paying 8 *d. per Annum* to the Highways is eſteemed a greater Burden than all the Taxes they pay beſides. They are very ſenſible, that *they have the Means of Luxury*, and ſo have not the Impudence to complain of their Prince on that account. *By the bye, this Hint ought to convince the Author of the* Eſſay on Riots *of the Stupidity of raiſing Taxes by way of Poll.*

IF every Tax in the Nation, which affects any thing directly or indirectly, which the Poor conſume, was to be taken off, I dare aver they would be more riotous, and more miſerable than they are now ; I mean the *Bulk* of the manufacturing *Populace* would be ſo. If they could purchaſe all the Neceſſaries of Life for one quarter of the Money they do now, the *Price of Labour* would ſoon riſe, *Idleneſs* would increaſe, *Drunkenneſs* would be more diffuſive, *Licentiouſneſs* would ſtretch a wider Wing, *Inſolence* carry a bolder Face, and *Riot* wear a longer Sword: Such Meaſures would be the way to plunge us into Anarchy and Confuſion; and every Man who reflects on the Pravity of Human Nature, and has been acquainted with the *ungovernable Appetites* of the manufacturing Populace, will juſtify theſe Obſervations.

BUT ſuppoſe, according to this *Schematiſt*, that all the Ale-houſes in every Pariſh were to be put down, excepting two or three, the Conſequence would be, thoſe licens'd Houſes would be for ever crowded with roaring *Bacchanals* and drunken *Revellers*. Nay, if a Stop could be put to ſuch Proceedings, and every Ale-houſe were to be pulled down, *common Brewers* would ſet up, many are ſet up already, and Drunkenneſs would flouriſh in the manufacturing Towns as much as it does now: And if *Brewers* themſelves were not permitted,

Gin-Shops would be frequented in ſpite of Law, as we daily ſee; and the moſt pernicious Sort of Drunkenneſs would reign ſtill among the common People, whilſt Wages could be acquired neceſſary to ſupport it.

THE only way to make the Poor ſober, induſtrious and obedient, is to take away the Means of Idleneſs and Intemperance, ſuch as high Wages, and that *Aſylum*, or *Refuge*, which made the Beggars ſing,

Hang Sorrow, caſt away Care, &c.

I may alſo add to this, that an Act to prevent the Importation or drawing of Spirits, and making Malt, would contribute very much alſo towards keeping the Poor from Intemperance and Debauchery! This laſt *Hint* is ſuch a judicious Turn, that I would humbly offer it to the *Author of the Eſſay on Riots, &c.* to plant in his Garden along with the *reſt of his Flowers* and *Exoticks*; or if he pleaſe as a *Theſis* to write a future Eſſay on.

TO ſhew that theſe Things are not the bare Aſſeverations of the *Clothiers*, but that the thinking Part of Mankind join in the ſame, I beg leave to make a few Quotations from the Author I mentioned above. This Author ſays,

" IN the unemploy'd Counties you ſee the " Women and Children idle and out of Buſineſs; " theſe ſitting at their Doors, and thoſe playing in " the Streets; even in the Market Towns, and the " moſt populous Villages, where they may be ſup- " poſed to be employ'd, the *Poor* by the *Rich*, " even there it is the ſame, much more in the ſingle

" ſcattering

" ſcattering Villages, where they have no Buſineſs
" but their own :

" WHEREAS in the manufacturing Counties,
" you ſee the Wheel going at almoſt every Door,
" the Wooll and the Yarn hanging up at every
" Window ; the Labourers, the Winders, the
" Combers, the Carders, the Dyers, the Dreſſers
" all buſy ; and the very Children as well as Wo-
" men conſtantly employ'd.

" AS is the Labour, ſo is the Living ; for where
" the Poor are full of Work, they are never empty
" of Wages ; they eat while the others ſtarve, and
" have a tolerable Plenty, while in the unemploy'd
" Counties it goes very hard with them."

I THINK it plainly appears from what has been ſaid above, and the Calculation of the Wages a *Weaver* and his *Family* can make in the *Woollen Manufacture* of fine Cloth, that ſuch a Family may ſubſiſt, as well as the Poor do in many Counties in *England*, by only *working one half of their Time*. It is no wonder therefore we ſee ſo much *Drunkenneſs*, *Idleneſs*, and *Debauchery* in the manufacturing Towns. To illuſtrate this a little farther, let us conſider what Wages are given in the Countries where are no Manufactures, and how the People ſubſiſt in Huſbandry.

A HUSBANDMAN in the Winter has in general but 4 *s.* 6 *d. per* Week for his Labour in moſt Counties in *England*, unleſs the Woollen Manufacture happens to be near ; in this Caſe the Huſbandman finds the Benefit of it, and ſhall be capable of acquiring better Wages, by being only in the *Neighbourhood* of ſuch a *Bleſſing*. But if he is at a great Diſtance from the manufacturing Towns, 'tis very

very rare alſo that his Wife or Children get any Employment. If there is ſome ſmall Employment to be gotten, ſuch as making *Bone Lace*, *Straw Hats*, or *knitting Hoſe*, the Wages in theſe Occupations generally amount but to a Trifle. At the City of *Wells*, in the County of *Somerſet*, where there is a ſmall Manufacture of *Stockings*, I have been credibly inform'd, it is a common thing for a Woman to knit 18 Hours a Day for 1 *s.* a Week; and it muſt be a very good Hand that can acquire 18 or 20 *d.* And yet the Poor in that City make better Wages than they do in ſome other Places, being near the great Trading Town of *Shipton-Mallet*, which employs many of their Hands.

THE lowneſs of an Huſbandman's Wages is not the only Diſadvantage he has to grapple with; for he is often expoſed to the Severities of the Weather, to toil and moil in Water and Dirt, to wear and tear his Apparel, and many times wants Employment, or is forced to ſeek it at a great Diſtance, and expend himſelf in travelling for it, as well as to be abſent from the Care and Government of his Family, which is a matter of Importance; all which Inconveniencies a *Weaver* in general is free from.

BUT ſuppoſe that a Huſbandman's Family acquires at home 2 *s.* 6 *d. per* Week, whilſt he is expoſed to all the Severities I have mentioned abroad, this 2 *s.* 6 *d.* added to his own Wages makes but 7 *s. per* Week; certainly then the Huſbandman muſt be in a much worſe Condition than the Weaver, even tho' you were to ſuppoſe the Weaver and his Family had Employment for only four Days *per* Week, for in that Time he would acquire near 13 *s.* as will appear from the Computation above. Theſe Calculations are formed on the Prices given

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in the worſt of Times ; for in good Times much greater Wages are to be made. To corroborate what I have ſaid, I beg leave to extract a Paſſage from the Author above-mentioned :

" A POOR labouring Man that goes abroad to " his Day-Work and Huſbandry, Hedging, Ditch- " ing, Thraſhing, Carting, *&c.* and brings home " his Week's Wages, ſuppoſe at 8 *d.* to 12 *d.* a Day, " or in ſome Countries leſs ; if he has a Wife and " three or four Children to feed, and who get little " or nothing for themſelves, muſt fare hard, and " live poorly ; 'tis eaſy to ſuppoſe it muſt be ſo.

" BUT if this Man's Wife and Children can get " Employment, if at the next Door, or at the next " Village there lives a Clothier, — he ſends the " poor Woman carded Wooll every Week to ſpin, " and ſhe gets 8 or 9 *d.* a Day at home ; the Wea- " ver ſends for her two Children, and they work " by the Loom, winding and filling Quills, *&c.* " and the two bigger Girls ſpin at home with their " Mother, and theſe earn 3 *d.* or 4 *d.* a Day each ; " ſo that upon the whole the Family at home gets " as much as the Father gets abroad, and generally " more.

" THIS alters the Caſe extremely, the Family " feels it, they all feed better, are clothed warmer, " and do not ſo eaſily and ſo often fall into Miſery " and Diſtreſs ; the Father gets them Food, and " the Mother gets them Clothes ; and as they grow " up do not run away to be Footmen and Soldiers, " Thieves and Beggars, or ſell themſelves to the " Plantations, to avoid the Gaol and the Gallows, " but have a Trade by which every one can get " their Bread."

IF

IF this is a true State of the Caſe, which to deny would be the higheſt Impudence, with what Face then can the *Gentlemen* and *Farmers*, who give ſuch low Wages, revile the Clothiers, who give Prices for Labour ſo much ſuperior, and that too in the worſt of Times?

NOW ſuppoſe we were to compare the Body, Conſtitution, Houſe, Habit, and Family of the poor diligent Huſbandman and the debauch'd Manufacturer: The firſt a Man would imagine could not be in very good Circumſtances, but his *Parſimony* and good *Oeconomy* ſupply the want of high Wages: You will ſee better Accommodations in the poor Huſbandman's Houſe, than in the Manufacturer's, tho' the laſt is much better paid for his Labour.

IF you will conſult the Body of one, you will ſee roſy Health bloom in the Face, and ſinewy Force reign in the Body, thro' his *Temperance* and *Exerciſe*, whilſt the other is pale, wan, and ſtew'd by his *Exceſſes*, *Sottiſhneſs*, and *Debauchery*: One ſhall have a good warm Freeze Coat on, while the other appears as ragged as a *Scare-Crow*: One ſhall have his Houſe well furniſhed with plain Bedding, and all the Utenſils provided by the *Potter* and *Turner*, whilſt in the others you ſhall ſee nothing but Rags, Naſtineſs, and bare Walls: One ſhall have a Variety and Plenty of Proviſions, ſuch as *Bacon*, *Wheat*, *Cheeſe*, and *Beer*, whilſt the other has not a Cruſt in his Cupboard, nor any thing but the pure Element in his Veſſels: The Family of one ſhall be clean, warm, and full of good wholeſome homely Food, ſuch as the old *Romans* fed on,

on *, whilſt the Family of the other are poor, empty, and ſhivering with cold. Such is the Difference between the high-paid, idle, debauch'd *Manufacturer*, who perhaps works only two Days out of ſeven, and the low-paid diligent and ſober *Husbandman*, who labours conſtantly.

THESE are Truths, not imaginary Calculations and Repreſentations; and we defy the whole Body of Weavers, Farmers, and half-thinking Gentlemen (*which laſt is a very large Body, God help us!*) to ſhew we have advanced one Falſity, or that we have exaggerated, or extenuated one Circumſtance to make our Caſe appear better than it really is. The Computations above are ſtubborn Facts, not to be ſneered away or confuted.

UPON the whole, I think it is manifeſt from what has been ſaid above, that the Advantages of a Family's being ſeated in a manufacturing Town are very conſiderable: That ſuch great Wages are given in the *Woollen Manufacture*, that they are rather the Supports of *Idleneſs*, and *Luxury*, than

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* *Juvenal* ſays of them,

——— *Sed magnis fratribus horum*
A ſcrobe, vel ſulco redeuntibus altera cœna
Amplior, et grandes fumabant pultibus ollæ.

Gigantic Hinds as ſoon as work was done,
To their huge Pots of boiling Pulſe would run,
Fell to with eager Joy on homely Food,
And their large Veins beat ſtrong with wholeſome Blood.

Such a Race (inſtead of a puny one) we ſhould have of Manufacturers, if it were not for the Inſtruments of Luxury and Exceſs.

neceſſary for the Poor to live comfortably, and happily; and that whoever inſtigates the Poor to abuſe and maletreat the *Clothiers*, are their worſt *Enemies*. Theſe Conſiderations ought to induce the Manufacturers to behave with Reverence and Reſpect to the Clothiers, who are the ſole *Source*, under God, of almoſt every *Bleſſing* they enjoy, and every Pleaſure they feel.

WE come in the ſecond Place to conſider how far, and in what Circumſtances, the Clothier may fall the Price of Labour, without incurring the *odium* of oppreſſing the Poor.

IT is a Truth, that every Man of Humanity muſt concur in, that every Perſon, who is born into the World, has a Right to the Neceſſaries and Support of Life. Our Laws are ſo tender of the *Poor* in this Reſpect, that where a Man cannot ſupport himſelf and his Family by his Labour, Proviſion is made by the Legiſlature, that he ſhall receive all Neceſſaries from the Landed Gentlemen and Traders, who ſhall be rated for that Purpoſe.

BY ſeveral Judicious Perſons this Law has been condemned, as being very injurious to the Society; and as tending to make the Poor, careleſs, luxurious, and idle. I beg leave to quote here a few Paragraphs from a judicious Author or two, for the Satisfaction of thoſe who have no Opportunity of turning to them.

I SHALL begin with Mr. *Wood*, who ſays, "It is thought by many, and not without good "Grounds, that the Act for the Maintenance of "the Poor, may be the Bane, and Deſtruction of "our *Manufactury*, as it encourages Sloth, and "Beggary; and alſo as it makes the Pariſhes of

"*England*

" *England* fearful of entertaining any Perſons, but " ſuch as are well to paſs; but ſo long as the Pa- " riſh knows they are to be burthen'd with all the " Poor, that ſhall obtain Settlements upon them, " whether ſuch Poor will work or not, they will " keep out all ſuch Perſons as have nothing to ſub- " ſiſt on but the daily Labour of their Hands to " maintain themſelves, and their Wives and Chil- " dren. This and other Things he ſays has drove " Multitudes into *Holland* and *Pruſſia*; as well as " *Picardy* and *Languedoc* in *France*." Mr. *Gee*, applicable to the ſame, ſays as follows:

" THE *Dutch* have brought their Poor under " ſuch Regulations, that there is ſcarcely a Beggar " to be ſeen in the United Provinces; for that no " Nation may underwork them, they take all ima- " ginable Care to keep all Materials for Manufac- " tures as low as poſſible, and lay their Taxes upon " ſuch Things as the People cannot ſubſiſt without, " as *Eatables*, *Firing*, &c. *very well knowing that* " *Hunger and Cold will make People work* to ſup- " ply their Neceſſities. *Flanders* and *Hambourg* " purſue the ſame Meaſures, for ſuppreſſing Idleneſs " and Beggary." The Spectator, ſo well known for his judicious and polite Writings, ſays much to the ſame Purpoſe in the Character of Sir *Andrew Freeport*, whom he introduces arguing thus:

" BESIDES, I can ſee no Occaſion for this " Charity to common Beggars, ſince every Beggar " is the Inhabitant of a Pariſh, and every Pariſh is " taxed to the Maintenance of their own Poor. For " my own part, *I cannot be mightily pleaſed with the* " *Laws which have done this, which have provi-* " *ded better to feed than employ the Poor.* We have " a Tradition from our Forefathers, that after the " firſt of thoſe Laws was made, they were inſulted " with that famous Song,

Hang Sorrow, caſt away Care,
The Pariſh is bound to find us, &c.

" And if we will be ſo good-natured, as to maintain " them without Work, they can do no leſs in re- " turn, than ſing us the *Merry Beggars.*"

SINCE I wrote the above, I met with the following Paſſage:

" * IT may be thought a ſtrange Motion from a " Biſhop, to wiſh that the Act, for charging every " Pariſh to maintain their own Poor, were well re- " view'd, if not quite taken away; this ſeems to in- " courage idle and lazy People in their ſloth, when " they know they muſt be maintain'd: I know no " other Place in the World, where ſuch a Law was " ever made. *Scotland* is much the pooreſt part of " the Iſland, yet the Poor there are maintain'd by " the voluntary Charities of the People: *Holland* " is the perfecteſt † Pattern, for putting Charity " in a good method; the Poor work as much as " they can; they are *humble* and *induſtrious*; they " never aſk any charity; and yet they are well re- " liev'd. When the Poor ſee, that their Supply " muſt in a great meaſure depend on their Beha- " viour and Induſtry, as far as it can go, it will " both make them better in themſelves, and move " others to ſupply them more liberally; and when " Men's Offerings are free (and yet are called for,

* *Burnet*'s Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II.

† Every *Sunday*, in the midſt of the Sermon, the Miniſter pauſes, and makes an exhortatory Digreſſion upon Charity; whilſt ſelect Perſons go from Pew to Pew with a long Stick, on which hang a Bell and a Purſe: into this Purſe every one, Men, Women, Children, and Servants, put ſomething for the Relief of the Poor. Thus all are initiated and bred in the Exerciſe of this *Chriſtian Virtue*, which by time becomes a Habit excellent in itſelf, and exceeding uſeful to the Community. *Vide Atlas Geographicus.*

" every

" every time they go to Church or to Sacrament)
" this will oblige thoſe, who diſtribute them, to
" be exact and impartial in it; ſince their ill Con-
" duct might make the Givers truſt them with
" their Charity no more, but diſtribute it them-
" ſelves. If a Spirit of true Piety and Charity
" ſhould ever prevail in this Nation, thoſe, whoſe
" Condition raiſes them above the Drudgery of ſer-
" vile Labour, might employ ſome Years of their
" Life in this Labour of Love, and relieve one
" another in their turn, and ſo diſtribute among
" them this noble part of Government. All this
" muſt begin in the Houſe of Commons; and I
" leave it to the Conſideration of the wiſe and
" worthy Members of that Body, to turn their
" Thoughts to this, as ſoon as by a happy Peace
" we are deliver'd from the Cares of War, and
" are at leiſure to think of our own Affairs at
" home."

THESE Gentlemen we ſee were of opinion, that Neceſſity is the beſt Spur to Induſtry, and is the Mother of *Diligence*, as well as *Invention*. When there is nothing but a Proſpect of ſtarving without Induſtry and Providence, this will make the Poor frugal, diligent, and provident. If the Poor had no Laws to rely on for ſupport in their Extremities, they would behave in a more decent and becoming manner to their *Maſters* and Superiors; knowing that their good Behaviour would be the only thing which could recommend and entitle them to the Commiſeration and Charity of their Neighbours, when in diſtreſs.

WHAT is given to the *Poor* now, they look on as a legal *Due*, and give no thanks to any one for; whereas if the Poor were ſupported by voluntary Charities, this would be a means of producing a mutual

tual Harmony between their Superiors and them. The Poor would look with Reverence and Eſteem on their Benefactors, who ſupported them in their Extremities; and this grateful Behaviour in the Poor, would beget *Pity*, *Tenderneſs*, *Commiſeration*, and *Benevolence* in the Rich: whereas by the preſent Methods of Charity, all thoſe mutual Ties and Endearments are loſt. We might remark here, what an Obſtacle this Law is alſo to one of the chief of the Chriſtian Virtues; but as this belongs to the *Clergy*, we ſhall leave it to them to expatiate more largely on it.

I can't leave this Digreſſion, which is not altogether unapplicable to the preſent matter in hand, without making a Remark or two, by way of inference.

HOW different is the Policy of the *Dutch*, *Hamburghers*, and the Sentiments of the Gentlemen above-quoted, from the Opinion of the *ſtupid Author* of the *Eſſay* on *Riots* in the *Glouceſter* Journal? *Dutch Policy* taxes all the Neceſſaries of Life to make the Poor *diligent* and *ſober:* Our *Politician* is for taking off all Taxes which affect the Poor, tho' they have already the means of Luxury and Idleneſs, as has been demonſtrated beyond all Contradiction: *Wretched Politician!* But one may eaſily ſee, that his Rancour againſt the preſent Adminiſtration precipitated him into this Gulph of Stupidity: *Venomous Libeller!* But this *Writer* and his * *Patron* ſeem to tally in all reſpects, like *Ralpho* and *Hudibras*; and never were a Pair more equally match'd in Stupidity and Nonſenſe.

HAVING premiſed thus much by way of Introduction, I come more immediately to conſider

* A certain Juſtice of Peace in the Neighbourhood.

the

the thing propoſed, *viz. How far, and in what Circumſtances the Clothiers may fall the Price of Labour without incurring the odious Character of oppreſſing the Poor.* But firſt I ſhall anſwer a few Objections, and remove ſome *Rubbiſh* out of my way.

JUDICIOUS Authors, who have wrote upon Trade, have been of different Opinions with regard to increaſing our Trade, by working up our Manufactures cheap. Some ſay that the falling the Price of Labour would ſink the Price of Proviſions, by leſſening the Conſumption, and of conſequence the Price of Lands, whereby the landed Gentlemen would be injured: That you muſt make your way to foreign Markets by Dint of Perfection not Cheapneſs; therefore you have nothing to do but to keep up the Goodneſs of your Manufactures.

SOME of theſe Arguments at firſt ſight ſeem ſpecious and concluſive: but on ſtating the Caſe in a true Light, I doubt not but I ſhall make it appear, that they are very defective and injudicious.

ONE of the Arguments againſt lowering the Wages of the Poor, is built on a Preſumption that no Nation will ever arrive at the ſame Perfection in manufacturing Cloth as ourſelves, and therefore we ſhall always have a Market, tho' other Countries manufacture, and ſell much cheaper. This appears to me to be an egregious Piece of Vanity. We had our Knowledge and Skill in the Manufactures from the *Lorainers*, *Burgundians*, *Flemings*, and *Netherlanders*; and why they and the *French* ſhould be for ever uncapable of arriving at the ſame Perfection in manufacturing as ourſelves,

muſt

muſt appear to every thinking Man an inſcrutable *Myſtery*. There ſeems to be many very good Reaſons to think the quite contrary.

A GENTLEMAN who now reſides at an *Engliſh Factory* at *Lisbon* told me, that their Houſe had conſign'd to it as good *fine French Cloth*, made of *Spaniſh* Wool, for 13 *s. per* Yard, as they could buy from *England* for 15 *s.* or 16 *s.* That the *Portugueſe* prefer'd the firſt on account of its Cheapneſs, from whence they were obliged to import the *French* Cloth on *Britiſh Bottoms*, and ſell it as *Engliſh* in order to have ſomething to do. Thus the *French*, by Dint of low Wages, are running away with our Manufactures; while we are buoying up ourſelves with vain Boaſts, and empty Imaginations, that we out-trade and out-ſell every one.

PRACTICE and Experience brings Art to its higheſt Perfection. Temperance and Obedience to Superiors, Reverence, Regard, and Eſteem for Maſters, bid fair for raiſing Manufactures to their *Acme*; whereas Licentiouſneſs in Servants, and Contempt of Maſters, which appear flagrantly among the woollen Manufacturers in this Country, ſeem to prognoſticate the Downfal and Ruin of the Manufacture. We cannot reaſonably expect to keep pace with our *neighbouring Nations* in the Goodneſs of our Manufactures, when both Magiſtrates and Gentlemen foſter and cheriſh (at leaſt connive at) the *Inſolence*, *Diſobedience*, *Diſregard*, and *Contempt*, which Manufacturers diſcover towards their *Maſters* and *Superiors*; we cannot reaſonably expect to keep up the Perfection of our Goods, when *Frauds*, *Embezzlements*, *bad Workmanſhip*, and Waſte of Materials, are countenanced by the very Perſons the Law has conſtituted to do juſtice to the *Clothier*, as well as plead the Cauſe, and protect the Rights of the *Poor* and *Needy*.

IT

IT is a melancholly Truth, that if a *Clothier* have but the Reputation of acquiring ſomething by his Trade, he has the Misfortune alſo to acquire the Envy and Jealouſy of ſome of their *Worſhips* the *Juſtices*, as well as ſome of the unthinking *Gentlemen* who live round him. When a Clothier makes Application to the Juſtices at their Petty *Seſſions*, and complains of an Injury received, either by imperfect Workmanſhip, by Imbezzlement of his Materials, by Waſte made of what he delivers out to be manufactured, or by Damages done in manufacturing; inſtead of receiving Redreſs, he is generally diſmiſs'd, after a great deal of Fatigue and Expence, with a Reprimand for having given their Worſhips ſo much Trouble; and a Declaration, that they in their *great Wiſdom* cannot ſee, that he has received any Injury, though the *Reverſe* is as clear as the *Sun* at *Noon-Day*. Sometimes they know nothing at all of the Affair before them, and refuſe proper Information; but if there ſhould happen to be ſome of them, who underſtand the Nature of the Trade, they are generally borne down (for the ſake of Unanimity and Peace) by the aſſuming Air, and over-bearing Arrogance of *Tarquinius Superbus* *, who, from his Pride,

* This Magiſtrate's Conduct in encouraging the Spirit of Riot, he being a ſort of Servant of the Crown, has given Occaſion to ſome few Perſons, who were not ſo well diſpoſed to the Adminiſtration as they ought to be, to ſurmiſe, that ſome of the Gentlemen in the Intereſt of the C——t, ſecretly, and ſlily ſpirited on the Manufacturers to Riot, by Order from above, to have a ſpecious *Plea* for a St—d—g Ar—y. This is a barbarous Return for his Majeſty's Care in protecting us; but we may infer from hence, what Injuries wrong-headed Magiſtrates may do the Intereſt of their King and Country,

Pride, Envy, Spite and Prejudice, will never order a Clothier any Reparation, unleſs he happens to be a couchant *Spaniel* of his own, who furniſhes him with *News* and *Scandal.*

I WOULD not be underſtood here to condemn all the *Juſtices* and *Gentlemen :* no; I am ſo far from it that I ſhould be as unjuſt as the *Wretch* characteriſed above, if I did not declare that I know many of them to be *wiſe*, *judicious* and *impartial* Magiſtrates, as well as friendly Companions, and kind and hoſpitable Neighbours. I think myſelf obliged here, in Duty and Gratitude, to mention the worthy Magiſtrates, *John-Ivory Talbot*, *Roger Holland*, *John Thraſher*, *John Eyles*, *Francis Eyles*, — *Montague*, jun. Eſqs; as being of this honourable Number, who uſed their utmoſt Efforts, Care, and Diligence, to ſuppreſs the Riot, and detect the Offenders, even at the hazard of their Lives. The *Clothiers* will always entertain grateful Sentiments of their Services, and be always ready to ſupport and eſpouſe the particular Intereſt they ſhall engage in, provided it is compatible with their Duty to their *Sovereign* ; the contrary of which they have no Reaſon to expect will be advanced by any of them. Happy was it for the *Clothiers*, that *Tarquinius Superbus* was abſent at the time of the Riot, who perhaps might have oppoſed their prudent Meaſures, betrayed their Reſolutions and Counſels, and have encouraged the Spirit of Riot to have proceeded to univerſal Deſolation among them.

BUT

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which they are delegated to ſerve, by their abſurd and *wicked* Behaviour.

Inde iræ faciles ——— *menſuraque Juris*
Vis erat. ———

BUT the Misfortune is, that ſometimes one haughty, proud, inſolent, partial, unjuſt and overbearing Magiſtrate, ſhall poiſon a whole *Bench of Juſtices*, and plague a whole Neighbourhood of *Clothiers*. This he ſhall do, perhaps, to terrify them into Obedience to every unjuſt Meaſure he ſhall propoſe; and to advance his Power and Influence in a *Parochial* way; but true it is, *Partiality*, *Pride*, *Inſolence*, and *Spite* deprive him of all his Power by rendering him odious; *ſo odious*, that the *Clothiers* put up with any Injuries, rather than apply to ſuch a partial deſpicable *Wretch* for *Redreſs*. This is ſo juſt and true a Charge, that I believe there is ſcarce an Inſtance to be given in a Courſe of *ten Years*, of a Clothier of *Trowbridge*, who receiv'd Reparation for Damages done him by the Manufacturers by order of the Juſtices; notwithſtanding the many Injuries they may be ſuppoſed to receive from the Thouſands they employ, who are the very Dregs of Mankind. For my part, I verily believe that the ſly *Innuendo's* and partial Conduct of this * Magiſtrate were the primogenial Cauſes of the Riots and Tumults in thoſe Parts.

I WOULD humbly offer it here to the Conſideration of the preſent Adminiſtration, whether a Magiſtrate who countenances, and is a Patron of the Author of the Eſſay on Riots,

* *Vidi ego jactatas mota Face creſcere Flammas*
Et rurſus nullo concutiente mori.

When *Riot*'s Torch is ſhook by *Envy*'s Power
The curling Flames to Heav'ns high Summits tower:
Strike out the *Faux*, who wakes the dying Fire,
The Tumults ceaſe, the raging Blaſts expire.

printed in the *Glouceſter Journal*, *December* 19, 1738; whether a Magiſtrate, who ſeems by his Conduct to encourage Riot, Mutiny, Diſcontent, Fraud, Inſolence and Diſhoneſty, among the manufacturing Populace; whether a Magiſtrate, who nurſes up a Spirit of Contempt towards Maſters, and a Diſregard to all *Superiors* but himſelf, is a Friend to the preſent Government, to his Country, to Mankind, or is a proper Perſon to be in the *Commiſſion of the Peace*, to diſpenſe Law and Juſtice to his Neighbours: whether a Man of no Influence, of no Authority, who is hated by the *Mechanic*, laughed at by the *Rich*, deſpiſed by Men of *Senſe*; whether a Man who is inhoſpitable, mean, avaricious and deſpicable; I ſay, I would humbly aſk the Gentlemen at the Head of Affairs, whether they think ſuch a Magiſtrate can be an Honour to the Power that delegates him, or is capable of ſerving any Party, any Intereſt but that of the *Father* of Lyes and the *Author* of all Evil?

CERTAINLY ſuch Meaſures, ſuch Conduct, as I have been ſpeaking of above, naturally tend to make Servants careleſs, haughty, inſolent, diſhoneſt and unfaithful. When once they ſee their Negligence and Fraud overlooked, and paſs with Impunity, they contract bad Habits, become debauched Hands in their ſeveral Crafts, and *licentious* and *immoral* in their Behaviour and Conduct. From time to time the Evil ſpreads, *vires acquirit eundo*, 'till at laſt it ends in Riot and Plunder. Without due Regard, proper Reverence and Reſpect towards *Maſters* and *Directors*, no good Government, or *Oeconomy*, can be kept up either in Manufactories, private Families, or publick States and Communities.

SUB-

SUBORDINATION is neceſſary in the Univerſe: A Variety of States and Conditions is as neceſſary in the Harmony of the World as a Variety of Notes to Harmony in *Muſic*. When once a Contempt of *Officers*, and Licentiouſneſs in *Soldiers*, ariſe in an Army, thro' want of ſtrict Diſcipline, Mutiny and Confuſion preſently break forth. When Contempt of a Parent or Maſter ariſes in a Family, Murmurings and Diſcontent, Diſorder and Anarchy quickly appear. When Diſregard, Contempt, Fraud, and Inſolence towards Maſters are nouriſh'd by *Superiors*, who will wonder to ſee Riots, Tumults, Houſes pull'd down, and a licentious *Rabble* march off triumphant with the Plunder, and boaſt they have done no harm? But here I would hint to theſe *Gentlemen*, what *Solomon* did to jealous Huſbands, "Be not jealous of the Wife of thy Bo-"ſom, nor teach her an EVIL LESSON AGAINST "THYSELF." When the Spirit of Riot gets into a People, no one knows the Conſequence. The *Mob* have already got this *Maxim*, "That "*Adam* made no *Will*; they are his Sons, and "ought to have a Share of their Father's Poſſeſ-"ſions:" And nothing was more common in their Mouths, than "*If they wanted, damn it, "they would take it where they could find it.*"

IF ſome Redreſs of theſe Grievances cannot be found, what will become of the ſtaple Manufacture of this Kingdom? If the landed Gentlemen do not take theſe Things into their Conſideration, and endeavour, by all honeſt and prudent Methods, to ſupport the trading Intereſt; they may one Day repent of their Prejudices, when it is too late to redreſs their Misfortunes. When they ſee the *Poor* a Burthen on their Eſtates,

Eſtates, the Farmers break, and the Value of Lands ſunk to eighteen or twelve Years Purchaſe; it will be too late to cry out, "*Who could have* "*thought it!*" Unkind Behaviour, and envious and diſreſpectful Sentiments, with regard to the trading Bodies, ariſe from Ignorance, and the Want of a thorough Knowledge of Things, as well as of the true Intereſt of the landed Gentlemen. The *wiſeſt* and greateſt of Men have always entertain'd kind Sentiments of the trading Bodies. The famous *Monſieur Colbert* was of different Sentiments from thoſe Gentlemen, who are always ready to ſquint a Reflection on the trading Part of the Nation.

NOTHING can more plainly diſcover the Ignorance and Stupidity of the Country Gentleman, than his looking on the Trader, and his Acquiſitions, with an evil Eye. The *Lewis's* XIII. and XIV.* were ſo ſenſible of the Advantages ariſing from Trade, that they eſtabliſh'd ſeveral Ordonnances, whereby it was conſtituted, that Perſons of the higheſt Blood in *France* might enter into Trade, without derogating from their Nobility. In *Bretagne*, *even a Retail Trade does not degrade a Man of his Quality.*

IN *Italy* ſeveral *Princes* are at the Head of Silk Manufactories, in the ſame manner as the *Clothiers* are at the Head of the Woollen Manufactories here. Many of them do not diſdain to make Magazines and Warehouſes of their *Palaces*, to depoſit Merchandizes and Manufactures in.

THERE

* Vide *Chambers's Cyclopæd.* under the words Commerce, Navigation, Merchandize, *&c.*

* THERE was a Law among the *Athenians*, by which any one might bring an Action of Slander againſt him who diſparag'd or ridicul'd any Man or Woman for being of a Trade. And another, by which it was inſtituted, that he who gets the beſt Repute in his Profeſſion, and is reckon'd the moſt ingenious in his Way, ſhould have his Diet in the *Prytaneum*, and be honoured with the higheſt Seat. Which is the moſt worthy Animal, a Gentleman who hazards his Neck after a *Fox* all his Life, or a Clothier who employs and ſurveys the Work of Thouſands?

TO *Gentlemen* of *Genius* and *Capacity*, it is needleſs to ſay any more on the Advantage of Trade, and the Reſpect Tradeſmen, who are at the Head of Manufactories, merit. A little Conſideration, and Reflection, will furniſh ſuch with honourable Notions, and kind Diſpoſitions, towards the trading and manufacturing Bodies. A Man might preach upon this *Topick*, till his Lungs were worn out, to *wrong-headed Magiſtrates* and *country Fox-hunters*, and they would never be the better or wiſer for it; ſuch I have no Hopes of reclaiming, nor for ſuch do I write. My Contempt riſes here, and I can't help ſaying, with *Horace*,

Odi profanum Vulgus.

Hence ye Prophane; I hate you all,
Both the *great* Vulgar, and the *ſmall.*
COWLEY.

THUS

* See Dr. *Potter's Greek* Antiquities.

THUS I have anſwered the firſt Argument againſt lowering the Price of Labour in our Manufactures; *viz.* that we have no neceſſity of lowering of Wages, becauſe the Perfection of our Manufactures will always command a Market.

ANOTHER Argument againſt lowering of Wages is, that it would ſink the Goodneſs of our Manufactures, by obliging the Poor to work quicker and ſlighter, in order to acquire a Subſiſtance by their Labour.

I muſt acknowledge, if Wages were reduc'd already ſo low, that the Poor could not ſubſiſt if there were a farther Reduction, that then this Argument would carry ſome Force in it; but this is far from being the Caſe. It is an Obſervation of the judicious Part of the *Clothiers*, that the *beſt Goods* are made in the worſt Times. When Employment is ſcarce, every Manufacturer endeavours after Perfection in his particular Branch; not knowing where to meet with Employment, if his Maſter ſhould diſcharge him; and very well knowing that leſs Wages are given in other Crafts.

IN a Scarcity or Dearneſs of Proviſions it is juſt the ſame. If Wheat ſells for ten or twelve Shillings a Buſhel, the Manufacturers are obliged to work more, and debauch leſs. This has the ſame Effects as if the Manufacture were leſſened, or the Number of Hands increaſed. When Corn was actually at thoſe Prices, according to the beſt Information I can procure, no greater Prices were given for Labour at that Time, than were given at the Time of the Riot this Winter; or however,

ever, not above one Penny in Sixteen-pence more; and yet I could never learn, that the Poor, at that Time, either ſtarved or rioted. The Poor, in ſuch Times, are ſober, diligent and frugal; and in Time of Plenty, or when high Wages are given, they are looſe, debauched, inſolent, idle and luxurious: ſo that the Bounties of Heaven, inſtead of being a Happineſs to them, prove a Curſe; and are the *Inſtruments of Vice* and *Immorality*, as well as the Means of *imperfect Workmanſhip*, and bad Manufactures.

ANOTHER Argument againſt lowering Wages is, that the Poor hereby would be uncapable to make ſuch great Conſumption of Proviſions, and the Neceſſaries of Life; whereby Lands would ſink in their Value, Farmers break, and the landed Gentlemen be reduced.

IT will be very evident, from the following Arguments, that theſe Objections are the Objections of *Theoriſts only* in Trade, who were never concern'd in Manufactures; or at leaſt never cloſely examin'd the internal Springs, Wheels and Movements of Trade. Upon due Conſideration, theſe Arguments will appear to be the ſuperficial Obſervations of Perſons who never cloſely attended human Nature, watched the Motions of the Paſſions, or examined the *Concatenation* of Events in a trading Nation, and among manufacturing Bodies.

IT may be laid down, as an inconteſtable Truth, that the Poor, in the manufacturing Countries, will never work any more Time in general, than is neceſſary juſt to live, and ſupport their weekly *Debauches*. If the Manufacturer can acquire in two Days, by high Wages, enough to

keep him drunk the other five, you may find him all that time rendevouzing in a Tipling-houſe; or, in the Summer-time, carouzing under a Hedge *, but never in his Occupation: all that time he ſhall be celebrating the *Orgies* of *Bacchus*, inſtead of purſuing the *Arts* of *Minerva*.. In a Plenty, or in a Scarcity; in a briſk, or dead Time of Trade, you find the Poor always poor, eſpecially in the manufacturing Towns: ſo that by reducing Wages, you would only make the Poor more laborious, more diligent, more virtuous; and not at all leſſen their Conſumption of Proviſions and Manufactures.

UPON the whole, we may juſtly aver, that the Reduction of Wages in the Woollen Manufactures, would be a national Bleſſing and Advantage, and no real Injury to the Poor. By this means we ſhould be capable to extend our *Foreign Trade* farther, to find out ſufficient Employment for all our manufacturing Hands, to keep our Markets *abroad*, and keep up the Price of Lands at *home*; and ſhould hereby reduce Idleneſs and Debauchery only, of which *high Wages* and ſpare Time are the *Nurſers* and *Supporters* †.

IF

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* *Puffendorf*, in his Introduction to the Hiſtory of *England* ſays, This Nation loves to eat and drink extremely well: tho' there are ſome who will have it, that the *Engliſh* got their way of drinking ſo plentifully, from the *Netherlanders*, in the Wars of the *Low Countries*, and from thence brought that ill Cuſtom over into *England*.

In his Introduction to the Hiſtory of the *Netherlands*, he ſays, An *Engliſhman* is naturally proud, and loves to live well, whereas a *Hollander* minds nothing ſo much as his Gain, being ſatisfied, nor ſpends any thing idly; a *Hollander* can ſell cheaper than an *Engliſhman*, and Strangers will always rather deal with the firſt than the laſt.

† *Nullum Crimen abeſt facinuſque Libidinis, ex quo*
Paupertas Romana perit ——————

IF a poor Perſon is not under a Neceſſity to employ all his Time to ſupport himſelf and Family, that Time he has to ſpare lays him open to Debauchery, and ſpending his Monies in Intemperance in a Tipling-houſe, Part of which ought to be laid out with the *Linen-draper*, the *Haberdaſher*, the *Grocer*, and a Variety of other Trades, which prepare the Neceſſaries of Food and Raiment, and form domeſtic Utenſils; ſo that the Conſequence of his Debauchery, and not being under a Neceſſity of always labouring, is an Injury to himſelf, and every Trader, but the *Victualler* and *Maltſter*.

LICENTIOUSNESS and Immorality, Idleneſs and Debauchery are not the only evil Conſequences which attend the giving great Prices for Labour. The Loſs of our Trade, the Reduction of the Value of our Lands, and univerſal Poverty will ſpring from the ſame Source, if not timely prevented.

TO endeavour to prove, that a Nation which keeps Pace with us in the Goodneſs of their Manufactures, and underſells us in Price, would run away with all our Trade, is as unneceſſary to any Perſon who ever thought of Trade, as it would be to go about to prove an *intuitive* Truth, or a *ſelf-evident* Propoſition.

THE *French*, the *Dutch* *, the *Flemings*, the *Iriſh* work much cheaper than we: they

 live

* For it proves very diſadvantageous to the *Engliſh*, that they love to eat and drink well, and that in great Quantity; and by reaſon of their Love of Eaſe, they are fain to employ double the Number of Seamen in their Ships, than the *Dutch* do. *Puffendorff Hiſt. of Eng.*

live, many of them, exceeding hard, and labour for very low Wages. Had not the Legiſlature intervened, the *Iriſh* would have run away with all our Woollen Trade long ago, meerly by the dint of manufacturing at low Prices. There is no Nation in the World conſumes ſo much Fleſh-meat, Strong-beer, *&c.* in Proportion to the Number of People, as we do. This Conſumption is made by the Common People chiefly, for the Tradeſmen and Gentry bear but a ſmall Proportion to them. I beg leave here to make a few Quotations from the above-mentioned Authors.

Mr. *WOOD* argues thus, "* The Woollen "Manufacture is undoubtedly by Laws, and all "poſſible Care, to be encourag'd; but it is "its Exportation abroad, and not the Con-"ſumption of it at home, that muſt bring Profit "to the Kingdom: —— And indeed the beſt "way of promoting the Woollen Manufactures, "is not to force its Conſumption at home, but "by wholſome and good Laws to contrive, "that it might be wrought and manufactur'd "cheaply, which only can enable us to command "the Markets, and truly make this Kingdom a "Gainer by it.

"IT is certain no Country in *Europe* manu-"factures all Kinds of Goods *ſo dear* as the Peo-"ple of this Kingdom; which gives the *French* "and other Nations a vaſt *Advantage* in carrying "their Manufactures to Market, and enables "them to become probably, if not in the Good-"neſs, yet in the Cheapneſs of them, our *Rivals* "*in Trade*, to almoſt all Countries.

"THE

* Vide *Wood's Survey of Trade.*

" THE Common People in *France*, in moſt " Provinces, live upon Roots, Cabbage, and " other Herbage; and the beſt of them eat " Bread made of Barley, Millet, Turkey and " black Corn; and they have no more than *half* " *the Price a Day for their Labour*, as is given " to the Common People of *Great Britain*.

SIR *William Temple* ſays, " * The Poor in " *Holland* live upon Milk, Roots, and Herbs; " and are induſtrious and parſimonious." Where the People are thus frugal, they of courſe will increaſe their Trade, and extend their Commerce.

Mr. *LOCKE* ſays, " † The *Dutch* buy our " Rape Seed, make it into Oyl, bring it back to " us, and ſell it with Advantage. The Reaſon " of which is, the Induſtry and Frugality of " the People make them content to work " cheaper, and ſell at leſs Profit than their " Neighbours, and ſo get the Trade from " them."

THE *Spectator argues thus.* " ‖ It is the " very Life of Merchandize to buy cheap, and " ſell dear. The Merchant ought to make his " Out-ſet as cheap as poſſible, that he may find " the greater Profits upon his Returns; and no- " thing will enable him to do this like the Re- " duction of the Price of Labour upon all our " Manufactures. This too would be the ready " way

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* See his *Accounts of the Netherlands.*
† See his *Conſiderations on lowering Intereſt*, Vol. II.
‖ *Spectator*, Vol. III. Paper 232.

" way to increaſe the Number of our foreign " Markets: the Abatement of the Price of the " Manufacture would pay for the Carriage of it " to more diſtant Countries, and this Conſe- " quence would be equally beneficial to the landed " and trading Intereſts." —— And again, " It " may ſeem (ſays he) a *Paradox*, that the Price " of Labour ſhould be reduced without an Abate- " ment of Wages, or that Wages can be abated " without any Inconvenience to the Labourer; " yet nothing is more certain, than that both " theſe things may happen. The Wages of the " Labourers make the greateſt Part of the " Price of every thing that is uſeful; and if, in " Proportion with the Wages, the Prices of all " other things ſhall be abated, every Labourer, " with leſs Wages, would be ſtill able to pur- " chaſe as many Neceſſaries of Life; Where " then would be the Inconvenience?" —— And further, " Every Intereſt in the Nation will " receive a Benefit from an Increaſe of our work- " ing People. Here I would remark, that put- " ting our Manufacturers under a Neceſſity of " working conſtantly, would perhaps, in the " Woollen Trade, amount to the ſame thing, " as an Addition of one Third more of Peo- " ple *."

THE

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* *Puffendorff Introd. Hiſt. of Eng.* ſays, They are alſo very dextrous in the Woollen and Silk Manufacturies, which they learned chiefly from the *Dutch*; but after all, they are ſomewhat proud, and Lovers of Eaſe, and ſpend every Day ſome Hours in walking and ſmoaking Tobacco, which is the Reaſon they do not ſo much Work as otherwiſe they might; and yet they expect to be paid for their idle Hours as well as the reſt; which is the Reaſon why they ſell their Wares at a higher rate than others, and that they envy ſuch *French* Handicrafts-men who live among them, and are ſeldom diverted from their daily Labour, by any Pleaſures.

THE *Chineſe* have the moſt extended Manufacture in the World; and their Manufactures puſh themſelves into all Countries, meerly by their Cheapneſs. The Price of Labour there is exceeding low, and the Common People very miſerable. Their Wages would fright us to talk of it, and their way of living would raiſe a Horror in us to think of it. Their Women draw the *Plough* inſtead of Horſes; their Men periſh and ſink under the Weight of their heavier Labour, becauſe the Food they eat is not ſufficient to ſupport them, and the Wages they get cannot provide better Food for them; and yet their rigorous Taſk-maſters laſh them forward (cruelly too) as we ſometimes do our Horſes.

M. *NIUENHOFF*, in his Deſcription of *China*, gives ſuch an Account of the Miſery of the poor People dragging, or, as we call it, towing the Boats up the Stream of the royal *Canal* there, the greateſt in the World; and how their Drivers, like our Carters, whip them on 'till the poor exhauſted Creatures drop down and die under the Labour of it: I ſay, he gives ſuch an Account as would make the Heart of a merciful Man bleed to think of it; and their utmoſt of the Wages for all this Labour does not amount to above 2 *d. per Day Sterling*; and the like, no doubt, is the Caſe in their Manufacture in Proportion.

I DO not mention this as worthy of Imitation, for I abhor ſuch Meaſures; but to manifeſt to the World how much happier the Poor of this Nation are, than the Manufacturers in other Countries. We are under no Neceſſity of reducing

reducing the Price of Labour in this Manner; but we muſt have ſome Regard to the Prices given by our neighbouring Nations, or they will run away with all our *Foreign Trade*, and reduce in time the poor Manufacturers of this Nation to the utmoſt Poverty and Miſery, by robbing them of all their Employments.

IF this Account be true, well might WHEN-G-WEN, the *Chineſe* Officer, call his Salary, *the Subſtance and Blood of the People, and regret that he was to live on it.* But it is plain the *Author* of the *Eſſay on Riots* mentioned this, purely to throw an *Odium* on the preſent Great Men in Office, and the Prince who employs them. But how unjuſt and barbarous *is this?* Does not a Great Man who waſtes his Spirits, ſpends his Time, and exerts himſelf for the Intereſt and Preſervation of his Country, deſerve Reward as well as a Poor Man does for his Labour? But this Author never diſcovers his Rancour and Spite againſt the preſent Government, but at the ſame time he betrays his own Ignorance and Stupidity.

BUT let us argue a little further upon this Matter of reducing the Price of Labour, and conſider it as a *Domeſtic Affair* only, and not as a national Concern which regards our *Foreign Trade*, and future Weal, but as an Affair of *meum* and *tuum* between the *Clothier* and *Manufacturer*. Well then,

SUPPOSE the *Clothing Trade* ſhould be ſo bad from a Glut of Goods upon Hand, and the Price of Cloth ſhould be ſo far beaten down by the *Drapers*, who always take all poſſible Advantage from the Markets being over-ſtock'd, that

that the *Clothier* ſhould be indifferent to Trade; and having no Proſpect of Sale for his Goods ſhould reſolve to drop the greateſt part of his Trade, or manufacture his Goods at a lower Price, in order to compenſate ſomething for the dead Stock, which, by continuing his Trade, he will have on Hand; where is the Injuſtice and Oppreſſion of ſuch a Proceeding? Is not the Manufacturer intirely at his Liberty to ſeek out for Employment elſewhere? Does the Clothier compel the Manufacturer to ſerve him? Does the Clothier ſeek out after the Manufacturer, or the Manufacturer after the Clothier? Or is the Clothier obliged to carry on Trade to the Deſtruction of his Fortune meerly out of Complaiſance to the Manufacturers?

FURTHER, does a Gentleman or Farmer think it reaſonable, that they ſhould be obliged to employ all the Year the *Supernumerary* Hands, they ſet to work in Harveſt to ſerve their Neceſſities, and reap down their Fields, while a warm Sun and a ſerene ſky bleſs the Earth? No ſure; as ſoon as the Harveſt is over, they are diſmiſs'd to find Employment where they can.

BUT ſuppoſe that they ſhould be uncapable to get Employment any other way, and a Gentleman or a Farmer ſhould repreſent to them, "That he had many *fenny Lands*, and unincloſed "Fields, which he had a ſmall Inclination to "improve, but it was a thing almoſt indifferent "to him whether he entered on it or no; "that the chief Inducement to undertake ſuch "a Project (if he did) would be the Conſi-"deration of the Diſtreſſes and Poverty they "would be in, now Harveſt was over, for want "of Employment; that he had calculated the

" *Advantages*, which would ariſe from *draining* " and *incloſing*, as well as the *Expences* which " would attend them; and that upon the whole, " he found if thoſe Men who took 1 *s.* 6 *d.* per " Day of him in Harveſt, would be content to " work at 4 *s.* 6 *d.* per Week, it would anſwer " for him to enter on his projected Improve- " ment, otherwiſe it would not. "

NOW give me leave to aſk thoſe Perſons, whether or no they would not eſteem it a great Hardſhip to be ſtigmatized with the odious Character of *Oppreſſors*, for making ſuch Propoſals to a Body of Men who would be ſtarved without them, and who could not find Employment without ſome ſuch generous Scheme? Would not thoſe Perſons think it the moſt baſe Ingratitude, if their Houſes ſhould be threaten'd to be pulled down; their *Wheat-Mows* and Barns to be burnt, or ſome Miſchief to be done them, unleſs they would advance Harveſt Wages for their propoſed Improvements?

THIS is a Caſe in point; this runs parallel in every Circumſtance of Moment. A good time of Trade is a *Clothier*'s *Harveſt*, a bad time his *Winter*, in which Compaſſion inſtead of *Lucre* often induces him to continue his Trade, and which Compaſſion, perhaps, will not be found to operate ſo ſtrongly in Futurity, as it has done. It is very often the Caſe that the *Clothier* does not trade ſo much from a View of Profit, as from a Principle of Honour, or Honour joined with a tender (more tender than they deſerve) Regard for his Servants, who he knows would be in moſt deplorable Circumſtances, were he to drop ſo much of his Trade as the Rules of meer Prudence might dictate: if the Clothiers were to do

this,

this, the landed Gentlemen would ſoon feel a Burden which they would be uncapable to bear, and would then perhaps entertain kinder Sentiments of them.

IT is a certain Truth, however it may be doubted, that the *Price of ſuperfine Cloth* in Proportion to its Fabric and Goodneſs *is not ſo great as* it was formerly; or ſuperfine Cloth does not ſell ſo well as it did ſome Years ago. In ſome Branches a Cloth coſts thirty or forty Shillings more the compleating than it did about twenty Years ago, and yet ſells for a leſs Price, ſometimes twenty Shillings leſs. To this we may alſo add, that from a falſe Notion of the great Profits made in the Trade, becauſe formerly three or four large *Eſtates* were raiſed in theſe Parts by it, many Perſons of various Occupations have puſh'd themſelves into it; whereby the Markets are ſo glutted, that a Man who employs two or three thouſand Pounds in the Trade has often Cloth to that Value on hand. Nay, I believe Inſtances might be given of *Clothiers*, who have eight or ten thouſand Pounds worth of Cloth lying as a dead uſeleſs Stock, whereas formerly Goods ſold off as faſt as manufactured.

IT may not be improper to remark here how ſtupid and fooliſh then the Obſervations in the Eſſay on Riots are. The *Eſſayer* would have the Profits of the Trade laid open, to induce more *Adventurers* to come into the Trade; whereas the Truth of the Caſe is, there are ſo many in the Buſineſs already that they are ready to eat up each other. When few Perſons are in a Trade, and drive large Trades, they can afford, in Proportion to the Extent of their Trades, to manufacture for leſs Profits; all ſmall Retail Trades

have the greateſt Profit in Proportion. This Addition of Clothiers, and Increaſe of the Quantity of Cloth made, has drawn more manufacturing Hands into the Trade than it can poſſibly ſupport, and will draw a Train of pernicious Conſequences after it.

IT appears at firſt ſight, to a Perſon of the meaneſt Capacity, that a *Clothier*, in ſuch a State of Trade, muſt labour under a vaſt Burden, and many Diſadvantages unknown to his *Predeceſſors* in the Manufacture. Such a State of Trade neceſſitates a Man to pay large Sums of Money for Intereſt, and oftentimes to ſell his Cloth for a low Price, leſs perhaps than it coſt, in order to proceed in his Trade, and keep up his Credit. And ſuch Proceedings are ſtill productive of farther Miſchiefs and a Chain of Evils.

IF the *Clothier* then labour under thoſe Inconveniences, Burdens and Obſtacles; if the Profits be ſo ſmall, that it is ſcarce worth a Man's while to engage in the Trade, why ſhould not the Manufacturer feel ſome part of the Diſtreſs, as well as the Clothier? How kind is it in the Maſter, when he feels the Effects of a good Trade, to be ready to raiſe his Prices, and let his Servants enjoy a Share of the Bleſſing. And how unkind is it, when Trade is bad, and the *Clothier* labours under a great Weight of Difficulties, for the Servant to withdraw his Shoulder, and refuſe to bear a part of the Burden; and inſtead of doing *this*, deſire high Wages to *pamper* himſelf in Luxury, and ſpend his Time in *Sloth* and *Sottiſhneſs?* * Is it reaſonable that the ſame Prices ſhould

* Mr. *Locke* ſays, If a Clothier finds want of Vent, he muſt either ſell cheaper, or not at all; if he ſells cheaper, he muſt alſo

ſhould be given for Labour now, as were given formerly, when the Profits of the Trade were double what they are now? With what Face can a *Manufacturer* aſk it, or a *Gentleman* defend it? I will add one thing more, which may, perhaps, give ſome Weight and Force to the Arguments already made uſe of; which is, that within theſe fifteen Years paſt near twenty Clothiers, in and about the Town of *Trowbridge*, have broke or ſunk their Fortunes in the clothing Trade; and have been obliged to quit their Buſineſs, or run the Hazard of dying in *Gaol*. *A fine Money-getting Trade truly!*

IF this be a true State of the Caſe, what remains to be done? But for the *Gentleman* and *Magiſtrates* to treat the *Clothiers* more reſpectfully, and ſpeak more kindly of them for the future than they have done formerly. Alſo to aid and encourage them in the Reduction of the Price of Labour, ſo far as is conſiſtent with the Laws and Principles of Humanity, and neceſſary for the Preſervation of our *Foreign Trade*. We muſt, by ſome Means or other, reduce the Price of Labour, that our Manufactures may find a Vent in Foreign Markets; for it is on our Foreign Trade, or Exports, the Riches of our Nation depend. Theſe things are worthy the Regard of every wiſe, benevolent and public-ſpirited Man, who looks into Futurity, and conſiders the Welfare of Poſterity, or who has an Eſtate, and deſires his Off-ſpring may be ſupported by it.

FOR

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alſo pay leſs for Wool and Labour, Vol. II. where the Author of the Eſſay on Riots may find an Anſwer to all he and his *Great Man* has ſaid about lowering Intereſt. But I ſuppoſe he will no more regard what that Gentleman has wrote on Trade, than what he has wrote on Government.

FOR ſuppoſe we ſhould loſe but one half of our Trade, or Exports of Woollen Goods, which have been valued at four Millions * *per Annum*, the Value of the Wool unſold the firſt Year would be two hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds; ſuch a Quantity on Hand would ſink the Price exceeding low, break the Farmer, and reduce the Rents of Lands. The Amount of the Labour of the People, which would be loſt by this Loſs of our Foreign Trade, would be one million ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, which at 6*l.* per Head *per Annum*, will maintain three hundred thouſand Perſons, who all will be without Employment, and become a Burden upon the Gentlemens Eſtates †.

FROM the Year 1600 to the Year 1688, our Trade improved our Lands one hundred and eighty millions of Pounds, and our Stock, ſuch as *coined Silver*, *coined Gold*, *Bullion*, *Jewels*, *wrought Plate*, *Furniture*, *Apparel*, *Stock for Trade*, *Conſumption*, *live Cattle*, &c. one hundred Millions, and this in ninety Years only. I mention this to ſhew what a watchful Eye we ought to have over our Foreign Trade, which has thus enrich'd us.

TO ſum up all on this Head; by relating in what manner the Poor ſubſiſt in *France* and other Countries; by ſhewing how the Poor, out of the *Staple Manufacture*, and in Huſbandry, ſubſiſt in this *Country*; by making it appear, that the Poor in the Manufactures can live by working

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* Vide Dr. *Davenant's Accounts.*

† Vide Dr. *Davenant: Wood's Survey: Obſervations on the* Mercator's *Writings: Obſervations on the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce with* France, *&c.*

working only a part of their Time; by ſhewing, that our *Foreign Trade* muſt be inevitably loſt, unleſs we carry our Manufactures cheaper to Market; by proving, that the Lands would not ſink in their Value, nor the landed Gentlemen be injured by this Scheme; and by demonſtrating, that they will be burdened with vaſt Numbers of Poor, unleſs proper Methods are purſued to recover and extend our *Foreign Trade*: I ſay, I hope, by theſe things Gentlemen will be induced to make this rational Deduction and Concluſion, that the *Clothiers* may and ought to keep down the Price of Labour; that we may do it without robbing the Poor of a comfortable Subſiſtence; that the Prevention of their Diſtreſſes and Poverty, by the Loſs of our *Foreign Trade*, which amounts to near four Millions *per Annum*, as I ſaid; and that the Welfare of this Nation and the landed Gentlemen require it, are equally manifeſt from the Arguments before made uſe of.

BUT in order that nothing might be wanting to render the Body of Clothiers odious, and to draw the Reſentment of the *Compaſſionate* on them, it has been moſt induſtriouſly ſpread about the Country, that the poor *Woollen Manufacturers* are ſtarving. *Schemes for the Relief of the Miſeries of the poor Manufacturers in* Wilts, have been ſpew'd about, from which a Man who knew nothing of the Caſe would be induced to think, that the Poor ſtalked about without Employment, with *Famine* in their Faces, *Poverty* in their Houſes, and *Miſery* in their Families.

TRUE it is, that the *Idle* and the *Debauched* are poor enough, and their Families bad cloth'd and bad fed; but this ought not to be imputed to their low Wages, or want of Employment,

but

but to their *Idleneſs* and *Debauchery*. I am apt to think that there is not an honeſt, induſtrious and ſkillful Manufacturer in the Pariſh of *Trowbridge* who wants Employment, or any Neceſſary of Life, unleſs reduced by Sickneſs or old Age; for both of which there is ample Proviſion, a comfortable Poor-Houſe, where all the Neceſſaries of Life are provided for them.

WHAT conſummate Impudence muſt a Man then have to inſinuate, that the Poor want Suſtenance, and are languiſhing in Poverty and Miſery? The Clamour that Thouſands are ſtarving, ſhocks a Man of common Humanity, and raiſes all the Emotions of Pity and Reſentment. This deſigning *Knaves* know; and therefore uſe it as a *Cant Phraſe* to amuſe and prejudice the *Tender* and *Compaſſionate*, as well as to ripen the Paſſions of the Rabble for Riot, and animate the Multitude to Miſchief and Plunder.

BUT it is not enough falſely to repreſent, that the Poor are ſtarving, but the *Odium* of their ſtarving muſt be thrown on the *Clothiers* alſo; who are repreſented as if they were a ſort of *Caterpillars* or *Egyptian* Locuſts, who had eat up every green Herb, and gormandized all the Proviſions in the Nation. A Man would be induced to think by the Clamours ſet on foot by the *Eſſay on Riots*, that the Clothiers are a ſort of *Monſters*, who devoured every thing, and were more ſavage than that ſlew by *Perſeus*.

THAT the Poor have wanted Employment in the Pariſh of *Trowbridge* in general, is falſe, (as I hinted before;) however, I could never find it as a Truth. But ſuppoſe they did want Employment, how comes it that they are ſtarving, when

when the manufacturing Towns are provided with Workhouſes? where every Perſon who is uncapable of ſupporting himſelf, may meet with a comfortable Subſiſtence, and a warm Reſidence.

IF any one be ſtarving, whoſe Fault is it? Surely no one will have the Impudence to hint the *Clothiers* are in fault. What have they to do with it? Suppoſe the Poor want Employment, are the *Clothiers* obliged to find them Work? Are not the *Juſtices* of the Peace the *Guardians* of the Poor by Law? And is it not in the Power of a private *Seſſions*, or ſingle *Juſtice* of Peace, to order proper Relief to every neceſſitous Perſon? If there were Thouſands ſtarving, why are the Clothiers to be blamed any more than the Farmers? They may ſubſiſt on the Farmers Wheat-Mows, but they can't eat the Clothiers Wool nor Yarn; they would find it very poor Diet were they to make the Experiment. How wicked, fooliſh, ſtupid, venomous, ſilly and ſcandalous is it then, to lay the Charge of the Poor's ſtarving on the Clothiers, or ſo much as hint it? Such Miſcreants, ſuch abandoned Fools, as can impudently and fooliſhly fix ſuch a Charge on them, are ripe for any Wickedneſs, and fit to ſupply the Place of *Iriſh Evidences*, and attend infamous *Sollicitors* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, as *Knights* of the Poſt, ready to ſwear any thing in any Cauſe.

IT is a Maxim of *Machiavel*, that thoſe who calumniate and clamour about unknown Crimes and ſecret Male-Practices, ſhould be conſtantly compelled to become *Accuſers*; and, if they prove the Charge, have fitting Encouragement; but when it appears groundleſs, falſe and malicious,

they ſhould be moſt ſeverely puniſhed, as was *Manlius Capitolinus*, who was hurl'd from the *Tarpeian* Rock for his baſe Calumny againſt *Camillus*. What a Tumble our *Author* would ſoon have, if *Roman* Cenſure was to paſs upon him!

I COME now to the Charge againſt the *Clothiers, of combining together to lower the Wages of the Manufacturers*. To this we muſt ſay, that we never heard of ſuch a Thing or ſuch a Charge, 'till we ſaw it in the *Libel* printed in the *Glouceſter Journal* *. 'Tis but too true, that the Clothiers generally are too jealous of each other, and want Unanimity too much to enter into Combinations of any kind, even Combinations to proſecute thoſe Villains who would have plunder'd them, and cut their Throats.

WHEN the Clothier can afford to give high Prices for Labour, he is forward enough to do it, moſt commonly too forward, and highly imprudent in this Reſpect. But this Happineſs generally attends it, that when he gives the higheſt Prices he gets moſt Money; whereas when he gives the loweſt, he often *loſes by his Manufactures*.

IF there be any Combinations for lowering Wages, why are not the Authors proſecuted according to Law? The Manufacturers have Stocks raiſed by their Clubbing, ſufficient to carry on Proſecutions of any kind, being ſeveral hundred Pounds Capital. They cannot ſurely plead Poverty and Incapacity

* *Fingere qui non viſa poteſt——*
——hunc tu, Romane, caveto. Hor.

Incapacity. Why not proſecute as well as riot and plunder?

BUT it is very evident theſe are only the Suggeſtions of the *Father of Lyes*, ſpew'd out by the *Manufacturers*, and ratify'd as Truths by the Abettors of Riots and Plunder, meerly to render the *Clothiers* odious, and extenuate their Villanies.

ANOTHER Charge laid againſt the Clothiers is, that they oppreſs the Poor, *by impoſing Goods on them, at a high Rate, in lieu of Money*; or, *paying them in Truck*, as they call it. Nothing can be more pertinent to this Affair, than what has been lately ſaid by a judicious Writer in the *Glouceſter Journal*, which I ſhall beg leave to quote here, for the Information of thoſe who have not ſeen that *Journal*.

" I COME now to conſider the Article of " *Trucking*. This I own to be a Practice not only " illegal, but ſcandalous, and injurious to Trade; " which is attended with worſe Conſequences by " far, to the fair Trader, than the Workman " that complies with it, and what we ſhould be " glad to ſee an effectual Stop put to. But as we " can't call every thing that is illegal, oppreſſive, " I am fully perſuaded that the Majority of the " Work-people have no Reaſon to complain upon " this Head; nor could this be the Cauſe of their " Riſing. ——— For as the Workman knows, " before-hand, the Diſadvantages on which he " takes Goods in Payment; ſo he knows alſo " that the Quality of the Workmanſhip accepted " by ſuch Maſters, generally repays him, with " Intereſt, for the Loſs he ſuſtains upon ſuch " Goods.

" I WOULD not be underſtood here plead-
" ing for a Liberty of paying in Goods; for
" I heartily wiſh our Laws were ſo ſtrict, and
" the Execution of thoſe Laws ſo effectual, as
" would remove every Ground of Suſpicion and
" Complaint on that Head, as I am ſatisfied the
" Intereſt of the fair Trader conſiſts very much
" in preventing all ſuch clandeſtine Methods of
" manufacturing."

BUT to conſider this Matter a little farther. By a Law made in the twelfth Year of King *George* I. it is enacted, that if any Clothier ſhall be convicted of Trucking, or paying Goods in lieu of Money, he ſhall forfeit the Sum of ten Pounds; one Moiety is to go to the Informant, the other to the Party aggriev'd. Now, notwithſtanding here is ſo great Encouragement given by Law againſt Delinquents, I never heard that ever a Clothier was convicted on this Statute; or that ever above one Information was made before the Juſtices for ſuch Offence, which was proved to be *falſe* and *malicious*; and yet I never heard that the Informant was refuſed Work by any Clothier on that account. If the Practice of Trucking be ſo injurious and oppreſſive as has been inſinuated, how comes it about that no Informations are laid, or Convictions made?

WHY, they ſay, *they ſhould render themſelves obnoxious to their Maſters, by informing; and ſo are afraid to put the Laws in Execution.* It ſeems they are afraid to join in proſecuting the *Truckſters*, and yet are not afraid to join in Riots and Plunder; they are afraid to put the Laws in Execution againſt *Delinquents*, and yet are not afraid to break the Laws, at the Hazard of their Lives.

Might

Might not they as well contribute towards maintaining an unemploy'd *Informant*, if ſuch a thing ſhould happen, as contribute towards ſupporting *Rioters in Priſon?* Their *capital* Stock is ſufficient to ſupport any Scheme for putting down Truck, if they had Inclination. From whence we draw this Concluſion, that *Trucking is no real Grievance to the Manufacturers, whatever they may pretend.*

BUT as many *Gentlemen* and *Farmers* have ſeverely cenſured Trucking, I would beg leave to aſk them, whether ſome of them never paid their Servants partly in Truck? Whether Wheat, Cheeſe, Butter, Bacon, Beef, Mutton, *&c.* were never ſold by any of them to their Servants, at a Market Price; and whether they thought they injured the Servant by ſuch Sale? I do not make theſe Interrogatories as an Advocate for *Trucking*, and to palliate the Crime, for I abhor it, but to convince the World, that it is a common thing for ſome Perſons to bellow againſt the Offences of their Neighbours, whilſt they are guilty of the ſame criminal Conduct; and to ſhew what an eaſy Matter it is for us to deceive ourſelves, for want of Reflection.

I HAVE known very *good Manufacturers* leave Ready-money Clothiers, without ſignifying any Cauſe, to go to *Trucking Maſters*. It is obvious, from the public Declarations of the Clothiers, that forty-five out of fifty abhor thoſe mean Practices. *If they inform, they ſhall be unemploy'd, is their common Excuſe*; how do they know this, when they never try'd in ten Years paſt?

A CERTAIN *Clothier* of Probity declar'd, that he inſiſted, that a Weaver who ſerved a *Trucking Maſter*, as well as himſelf, ſhould leave the *Truckſter*, and weave both Looms to him, otherwiſe he would diſcharge him. The *Weaver* ſignify'd, that he was unwilling to leave him, and frankly declared, that the Loom employ'd by the *Trucking Maſter would not do for him.* Since the Riot, a Clothier, who formerly is ſuppoſed to have paid in Truck, put out a Chain to a Weaver, who ſhot it out of his Bag, and left his Maſter, becauſe he refus'd to let him have *Truck* upon the credit of his weaving it. How can they pretend then to aſſign their being paid in Truck, as a Cauſe of their Rioting? I think it is manifeſt, from what has been ſaid, that neither Oppreſſion, low Wages, detaining of Wages, Combinations to lower Wages, nor Truck, nor all together, could be the Cauſe of their Riſing. Therefore we muſt look for ſome other Cauſe; Hints of which have been interſperſed in ſeveral Parts of this Letter.

MANY more natural and congenerating Cauſes of this Event might be aſſign'd; to run through which, would ſwell this Letter to a very great *Bulk*; and therefore I ſhall paſs them by, at leaſt for the preſent.

TO trace the Writer of the *Eſſay on Riots* thro' all the Mazes of his Folly, would be a *Wild-gooſe-chace*, both diſagreeable and unneceſſary. He ſeems to be under the Influence of a Diſtemper call'd the *Cacoethes Scribendi*, or, Itch of Scribling, which has ſeized his Head ſo ſtrongly, that, without any Reflections on his Qualifications, it has precipitated him into an Affair

fair he knows nothing of, and hurry'd him thro' all the *Labyrinths* of Dulneſs and Inconſiſtency. His Brain ſeems turn'd with his Diſorder, and his Head to be full of incoherent Syſtems, contradictory *Reveries*, and enthuſiaſtic Viſions. I never caſt my Eyes on the Eſſay, but it puts me in mind of *Hogarth*'s *Bethlem*. Truly, I ſee ſo much Incoherence and Contradiction in it, that I ſhould think it the Production of ſome Gentleman eſcaped from the *Lodge* in *Moor-fields*, were there not ſo much Dulneſs diffus'd thro it. But notwithſtanding, it has one admir'd Quality, I mean that of being an *Original*; for I believe there never appear'd in the World before ſuch an *Olio* of Folly, Venom, Ill-nature, Diſloyalty, and Stupidity; and I was going to ſay *Lunacy*, but *that I think the Author too great a Fool ever to be mad.*

YOU may, Sir, perhaps object againſt me, that I have been a little too ſevere, and have diſcovered a little too much Animoſity, in the Character I have drawn of *Tarquinius Superbus*, as well as in what I have ſaid of the Partiality of ſome of the *Juſtices*, and Weakneſs of ſome of the Country *Gentlemen*. You may perhaps imagine, that this will rather ſerve to irritate their Prejudices, than conciliate their Affections.

IN anſwer to this, I muſt ſay, a *Satyriſt* has always been eſteem'd a neceſſary Scourge for bad Magiſtrates; and is of a very different Species from a *Libeller*: the one laſhes the *Villain*, the other defames the *Innocent*; the one is a bold *Speaker*, the other a baſe *Calumniator*; what one ſays is *Scandal*, what the other advances is *Truth*; the one is a *Slanderer*, the other a *Reformer*: and if the Character I have painted be applicable to

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any Gentleman, his Picture ought to be drawn, that all Men may ſee it, and deteſt him. If there be no Gentleman it will fit, it may be look'd on as an imaginary Character in a *Drama*, which cannot juſtly be eſteem'd to do Injuſtice, or give Offence to any Man. And if any of the Gentlemen, upon Reflection on their own Conduct, find that I have charged them juſtly, they ought not to be offended with Truth, but to alter their Behaviour, and then comfort themſelves with this Conſideration, that they are wiſer and better, and not fit Company for the *Contemptibles* they were formerly rank'd with, and I ſpoke of. If they have any Ingenuity, they will make this Reflection, with the * Cardinal *de Retz*, *that there is ſomething nobler in acknowledging a Fault, than in never committing one.*

I am, SIR,

With the greateſt Regard, and higheſt Eſteem,

Your moſt Humble, and

Moſt Obedient Servant,

PHILALETHES.

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* See his *Memoirs*.